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Appendix C

THE INNISFAIL AREA

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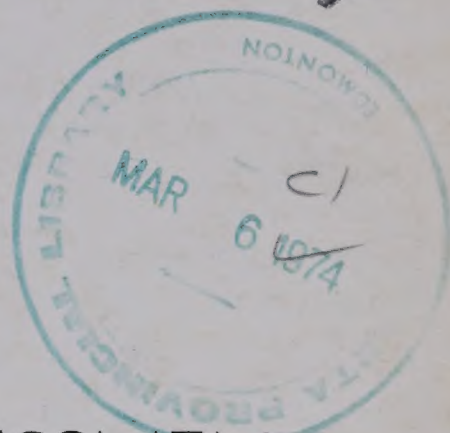
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COMMUNITY OPPORTUNITY ASSESSMENT





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Appendix C
THE INNISFAIL AREA

COMMUNITY OPPORTUNITY ASSESSMENT

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Human Resources Research and Development
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL - GOVERNMENT OF ALBERTA

Edmonton, Alberta
March, 1967

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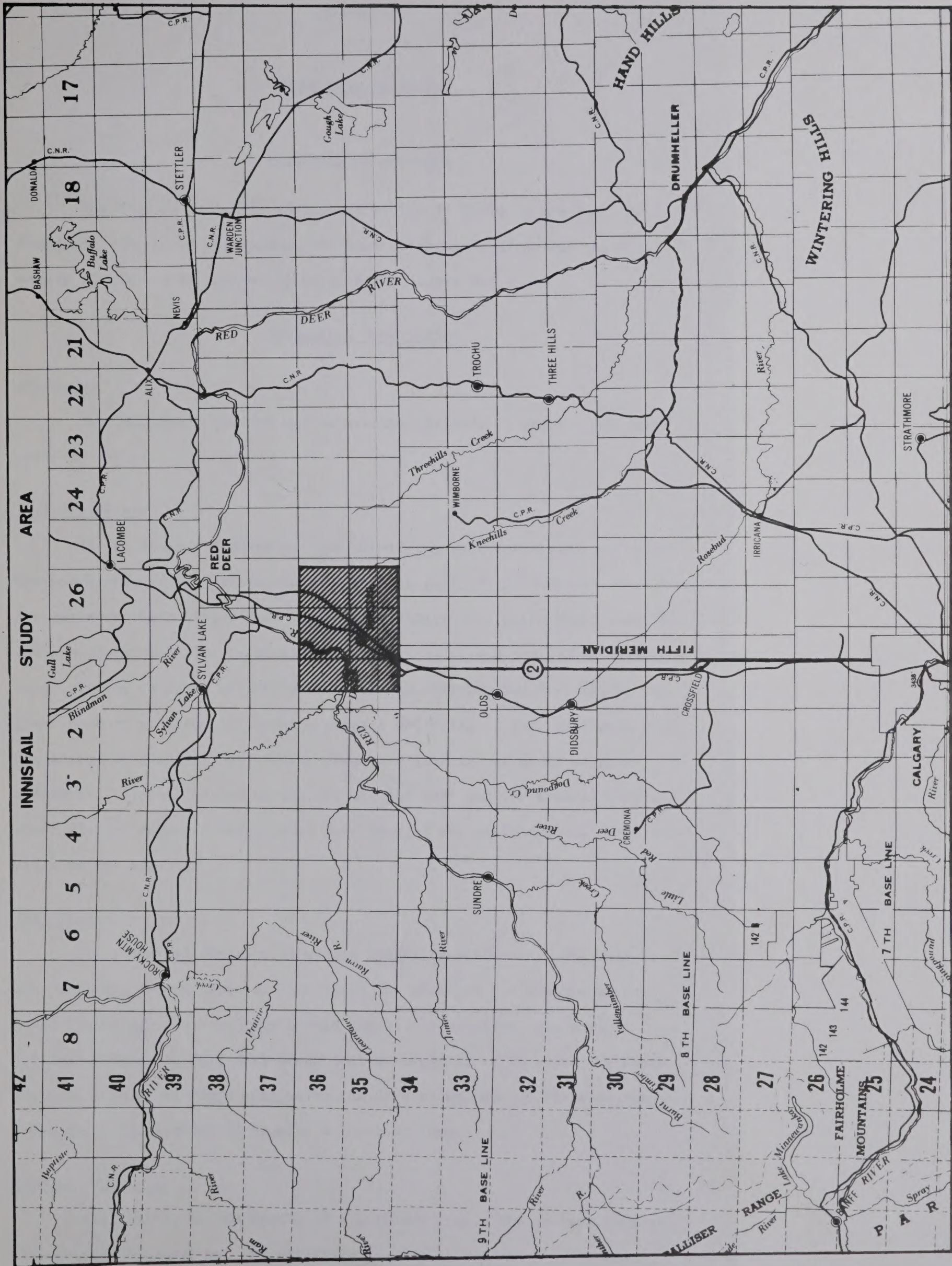
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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND MATERIAL

Geographical Location

The Town of Innisfail is located at 52° 2' latitude and 113° 56' longitude. The area surrounding the town which was studied was approximately 15 miles (east and west) by 12 miles (north and south).

Geological Description

Altitude:

The Innisfail district has an average altitude of about 3,000 feet above sea level.

Rock Formation:

In the Innisfail district, the underlying rock formations are shales and sandstones.¹ Geologists classify them as part of the Paskapoo formation, and estimate their origin from the early Tertiary Age, which began some 50 million years ago. The original rock formations were deposited by fresh water streams in lakes and deltas and were several hundred feet thick. A great deal of erosion, including a general uplifting of the continent, and the action of glaciers has reduced them to a fraction of their original thickness. Glacial action during the Ice Age left surface boulder clay and other glacial deposits which today form many of the hills and smaller elevations in the area.

Soil Types:

The Innisfail district is within the black soil zone. The soil is very fertile, having three or four times the nitrogen and organic matter found in average brown or grey wooded soils. In addition, the surface horizon of black to very dark brown soil averages 12 to 14 inches in depth. There is a layer of brown soil under the dark brown, and at 30 to 40 inches below the surface there is usually a layer of lime.

Natural Vegetation:

Innisfail is in the middle of a parkland area. The natural vegetation is mainly grass, but the grassland is partially invaded by wooded areas consisting mainly of deciduous trees.

Climate:

The Innisfail district is far enough inland to tend towards a continental-type climate, although not in the extreme form found in Saskatchewan or Central Manitoba. It is far enough north that it benefits only slightly from the Chinook winds which have such a tempering influence on the climate of Calgary and Southern Alberta. The area is not characterized by violent storms, such as cyclones, hurricanes, or tornados. Generally, the district is outside the severe hail belts. Although the weather does vary from "wet" to "dry" years, these variations are less extreme than in other parts of the prairies. The best summary comment on the consistency and mildness of the weather is the observation by the Department of Industry and Development that in the Innisfail district "crop failures, even on a partial basis, have been rare."

Weather:

In the Innisfail district, the mean yearly temperature is 36 degrees Fahrenheit. The mean summer temperature is 55 degrees, the mean winter temperature is 23 degrees. Precipitation averages about 20.6 inches annually. This includes an average annual rainfall of about 15.7 inches and an average annual snowfall of about 50 inches. The closest weather station is located at Penhold. According to their records, the Innisfail district has an average of 79 frost-free days a year.² This compares favourably with other parts of the province.

A Brief History of the Area

During the early pioneer days, one of the few well-known and frequently travelled "roads" was the Calgary-Edmonton trail. The establishment of the Town of Innisfail dates back to about 1882 when what is now the townsite was a supply depot and stopping place for travellers on the Calgary-Edmonton trail. At that time, the district was known as Popular Grove, a name which still has some local significance.

The all-important "coming of the steel" brought railroad service to Innisfail in 1891 and facilitated the real beginning of developments in the district. Because of the quality of the land and the centrality of the location, the Innisfail district was one of the earliest areas to be homesteaded, and by the time the rail finally came through, most of the land had already been claimed by homesteaders.

With the railroad in 1891, the first post office was established in Innisfail and the first school in what was then the Helena School District. Apparently, much of the town became established during that year. The first doctor arrived, and business and professional men opened up a drug store, a hotel, a general store and a lawyer's office. The town of Innisfail was officially incorporated in 1903.

Since the early settlement days, Innisfail has been predominantly an Anglo-Saxon district, with most of the population either from the British Isles or of English, Welsh, Scottish or Irish descent. The town was named after a village in Ireland. The religious life of the area is predominantly Protestant. The early ministers were Anglican and Presbyterian, and their work lead to the establishment, in 1892, of St. Mark's Anglican Church and a Presbyterian Church.

Innisfail has always been predominantly a farming district. It has, however, had some industries of consequence. The first such enterprise was a lumber mill (The Alberta Lumber Company of Montreal) which was in operation from 1882 to 1898. Before the turn of the century, a flour mill, a brick manufacturing plant and a co-operative creamery had been established. The first bank in Innisfail, a branch of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, was opened in 1899.

The old-timers of the Innisfail district, and the sons and daughters of old-timers, are quite ready to speak with pride and some nostalgia of the old days when the homesteaders first claimed the land. There does not seem to be anything in their reminiscences or stories to suggest that pioneer life in the Innisfail district was very different from pioneer life in other parts of the prairies. There was more bush to clear, slowly and painstakingly with oxen, than in other regions, but the land was better and the weather less severe.

As in other areas, life in the "good old days" was often short and hard. Both men and women worked 12 and 15-hour days most of the year, carving a farm out of nothing with only crude implements and, if they were lucky, good teams and oxen. People married young, had many children, and died young. Infant and maternal mortality were high. Farm wives provided most of day-to-day necessities by hand, out of what materials were available from making butter to baking bread, to knitting socks and sewing. Prairie fires were a constant danger.

The social and religious life of the community centered around the local school, as it was the only central public building. Children seldom went beyond Junior High School, if they got that far, unless their parents could afford board and room for them in the cities where high schooling was available. Because there was virtually no professional entertainment, people made their own recreation. Community co-operation was not only highly valued, it was a necessity.

Such a general, cliché-ridden description of pioneer life could go on for pages, and is doubtless familiar to the reader in any case. The Innisfail district, seventy or sixty or even fifty years ago, was apparently much like a thousand other pioneer communities all over Central and Southern Alberta and Saskatchewan.

During the "dirty thirties", farmers in the Innisfail area, as in other areas, were often unable to sell their products at anything approaching a price adequate for farm livelihood. Casual conversation still abounds with tales of the tragically low prices offered and, of necessity, accepted for prime produce. Since no one had any money, many farm communities functioned on a barter system - trading goods, services and produce back and forth to make the hard times as bearable as possible. One still hears: "Make it over, patch it up, make it do," as a slogan. Those farmers who were in debt when the Depression struck were totally unable to make their payments, and some lost their farms as a result. The experience of the Depression has left lasting effects, especially on the older generations who managed to live through it and raise their families. They often have a cautious, negative attitude towards debt, and are often very proud of the fact that they are debt-free. The fact that so many farmers were unable to get government assistance during the Depression has left many bitter and resentful, and quite unwilling to accept government help if it should be offered now. Partly, this is a matter of "too little and too late". Partly, it is a carry-over of pioneer independence and a pride in one's ability to look after oneself and one's own. For the older people at least, the memory of the Depression is still very much alive. They are security-conscious, concerned with the safe and the practical. They want their children to choose a dependable, stable profession, and this is very often something other than farming.

Present Land Use

Almost all of the land in the Innisfail district is devoted to farming. Of the farmland, a high proportion is under cultivation. Of the farmers who were interviewed, 46 per cent had almost all of their land under cultivation and 95 per cent had more than half of their land under cultivation. Seventy per cent of the farmers had no pasture. It is significant that 59 per cent reported owning no wasteland, and another 28 per cent reported that less than a tenth of their land was wasteland.

The Town of Innisfail surrounds one of the most - if not the most - prosperous mixed farming districts in Alberta. The presence of economic resources other than farming does not appear to have a significant effect on the farming communities, although there is some industry in the town itself; for example, in the Stramit Corporation founded in 1953, production workers tend to be "town" people rather than farmers working part time. The Innisfail district was one of the first oil fields in Alberta; however, the field is now almost completely developed and practically no one has retained the oil rights to his land. The only benefit for farmers is rent for machinery actually on their land and, in many cases, this no more than compensates for the loss of land use. There are some farmers employed at the Bowden Institute and at the Shell Refinery, but this applies mainly to farmers well south of Innisfail. There is also a sulphur plant southwest of the town, but this does not appear to be significant in terms of farmer employment.

Present Economic and Social Conditions

Physical Setting:

The residents of the Innisfail district are fortunate compared with the residents of other rural Alberta districts, in that their physical setting includes relatively easy accessibility to various vital public services. All of the respondents interviewed had such vital services as a doctor, a hospital, an elementary and high school, a general store and a provincial highway within at least 15 miles. Since virtually all farmsteads have either a car or a truck for transportation, the distance involved is not considered to be very great. Most services are, of course, closer than 15 miles as shown in Table 1.

DISTANCE OF RESPONDENTS FROM VITAL SERVICES,
INNISFAIL SAMPLE

<u>SERVICE</u>	<u>% WITHIN FIVE MILES</u>	<u>% WITHIN TEN MILES</u>
Doctor	29	86
Hospital	31	85
Elementary School	36	87
High School	31	85
General Store	49	92
Provincial Highway	80	98

Population Data:

The Innisfail district has a relatively high population density compared with the rest of rural Alberta.³ The dominant ethnic group is of British Isles descent, with only a small proportion of the population coming from other European countries. There is almost no non-white element, especially in the farm population.⁴

Social Organization: Community Structure

If an outside observer, in this case the researcher, was to consider the section of Alberta some 12 by 15 miles square, with the Town of Innisfail located approximately in the middle, he would be logically justified in thinking of it in general terms as "the Innisfail district" or "the Innisfail community". For example, such a section would be well within the trading area served by the town, and perhaps 90 per cent of the children living there would attend the Innisfail school. However, from the point of view of the resident of the area (especially the long-time resident - the "old-timer"), the area delineated definitely does not constitute a unified community or even a single district. Rather, it encompasses or overlaps with ten or more different communities, each with its own name, own sense of identity, and own distinctive sense of community loyalty.

In the early pioneer days, before the advent of school buses, there was a schoolhouse in every township, located in such a way that no child would have to walk or ride horseback more than three or four miles to school. In the best tradition, this schoolhouse was also the cultural and religious center of the community and the hub of social life, ranging from card parties to concerts to anniversary celebrations. When the old, one-room schools were finally closed and the education facilities were concentrated in the larger towns (such as Innisfail), the old schoolhouse continued to serve as a center

for the social life of the community. The general policy of the municipality was that, as long as the old schoolhouses were being used for religious services, they would not be sold and moved away. In many cases, ten or so farmers got together and bought the schoolhouse from the municipality for a relatively small sum. It was then converted into an official Community Center. Even in those school districts where the school was not used or purchased (and so eventually moved away by the municipality), the residents of the farms previously serviced by it still retain a strong sense of identity as "belonging" to that school district or community. Interaction continues to be focused mainly in the old school districts. Interview respondents expressed strong in-group "we" feelings about their particular community, which still retains the name of the old school district. As one informant phrased it: "I don't think anyone could say that Innisfail was one community."

As far as the research which has been conducted is concerned, the main effect of the presence of these various local communities is that they have a distorting effect on the interpretation of certain questions. For example, the interpretation and validity of the following questionnaire items (at least in the Innisfail area) will be markedly affected:

- 67. (b) Do off-farm work opportunities for men (for women) exist in this community?
- 86. Are there people in this area whom you feel close to, or whom you depend upon, like relatives or close friends, who make it difficult for you to move away because you don't want to leave them behind? (No. 87 follows from No. 86)
- 88. Are there any other reasons why you would feel badly about leaving this area and moving to another area? (No. 89 follows from No. 88)
- 122. Is birth control information available anywhere in this area?
- 157. Do you feel that this is a pretty good area in which to live or do you wish that you were living in a different area?
- 159. Would you advise your children to stay here in this area and make their homes here? Why?
- 160. If no: What area do you think they would do best to settle down in?
- *161. How do you feel about the people in this community?
- *172. Tell me, are there any people whom you would say are really poor around here (in this district)? (Nos. 173 to 179 to follow from No. 172)
- *198. Who would you say are the five people with the most influence in this community, in order?

200. What kinds of people are the "best" people in this community, generally speaking?
201. What kinds of people do you think are the "worst" people in this community, generally speaking?
212. Are there any improvements that you would like to see the government making in this area.....?
213. Are there any services you would like to see the government providing in this area...?

*These questions are particularly affected.

Wherever the researchers have used the words "community" (Items Nos. 67, 161, 198, 200 and 201), "area" (Items Nos. 86, 88, 122, 157, 159, 160, 212 and 213), or "district" (Items Nos. 172 to 179), they have been implicitly referring to a large area of land surrounding the Town of Innisfail, perhaps approximating the trading area. The respondents, however, have generally been implicitly translating these terms into the definitions of community that are meaningful to them in terms of interaction; namely, such small local districts as Big Bend, Little Red Deer or Aberdeen. To further complicate matters, there is some degree of friendly competition and antipathy among communities, coupled with a strong sense of loyalty to and appreciation of one's own community. For example, in Item No. 201 (What kinds of people do you think are the "worst" people in this community, generally speaking?), respondents will often say: "There aren't any "worst" people, they are all good folks around here." However, in the course of further conversation and/or probing, it becomes evident that "around here" is a very small district indeed, and within the area being considered by the interviewers as associated with Innisfail, there are lots of "worst" people of whom the respondent would not approve.

Social Organization: Social Interaction

When informants were asked about community life⁵ or about changes in it, they all made a distinction between the here and now of the present times and some vaguely defined "early days" or "old days", which from the context of their conversation might be anywhere from 20 to 40 years ago. Their comments on the direction of the change were quite consistent, and were often made with overtones of regret or nostalgia. The trend in social interaction has distinctly been away from informal, spontaneous, regular visiting back and forth among close neighbors which was apparently characteristic of the small communities a generation or more ago. In its place, community members take part in increasingly formalized and organized interaction through a variety of clubs and organizations.

People are too busy to just drop in on each other, or they feel that their neighbors are too busy to welcome casual visitors. When families do visit one another (with the exception of extended family groups who work together), it is usually by a specific invitation to take part in a specific activity. More and more people seem to find their companionship and recreation outside of the community, either by television or by travelling considerable distances. Old-timers blame this "breakdown" in community life on cars and television, and on the increased size of farms which reduces the number of families in a community. The norm of "community-mindedness" and of being "neighborly" is still very strong, but it has a different meaning than a generation ago. Neighbors are expected to keep their distance more than in the past, and people verbalize satisfaction that: "We don't live on each other's door-steps here." Interaction, even within the small communities surrounding the old schools, tends to be organized into such things as winter card parties or summer picnics or barbecues. The good community member is one who helps with such organization, who contributes time or valuables to ensure that the project is a success and who bothers to attend the event.

Respondents uniformly agreed that there was considerably less sense of community since the schools were consolidated. However, they generally expressed a high degree of satisfaction with the Innisfail district and with their community life. The farmers in the Innisfail district, are, by and large, prosperous, successful and contented.

Footnotes:

¹A large proportion of these materials are based on a Survey of Innisfail prepared by the Industrial Development Branch, Department of Industry and Development, Government of the Province of Alberta. Personnel at the Town Office directed attention towards this booklet as being the most comprehensive, up-to-date source available for general information about the Innisfail district.

²The Alberta Bureau of Statistics, Alberta Industry and Resources 1964, L. S. Wall, Edmonton, 1964, page 7.

³The Alberta Bureau of Statistics, op. cit., page 139.

⁴Detailed population data is given later in the report in the section devoted to a description of the resident.

⁵The central interest of the study was in farmers, and in the agricultural hinterland surrounding the Town of Innisfail. In view of the nature of the community structure outlined, it soon became evident that meaningful subjective impressions about the farming communities would not be forthcoming from town residents, who had no particular knowledge about or interest in the surrounding, small local communities. All questions about community life would be answered by them in terms of the Town of Innisfail itself, which was more or less outside the focus of interest of the study. Such a technique would be satisfactory if a town constituted the social as well as business hub of an integrated community, but as such is not the case in Innisfail, it was decided that more valid information could be obtained from farm leaders and "old-timers" than from prominent town people.

CHAPTER II

THE INNISFAIL INTERVIEW SAMPLE

Delineation of the Universe

It was desired to select an area centered around the Town of Innisfail which consisted chiefly of relatively prosperous mixed farms, which was supported almost exclusively by income from agricultural products, and which was small enough to permit an intensive one third sample within the limits of time and resources.

At the beginning of the study, the above problem was discussed with the Secretary of the County. He suggested that only a portion of the area serviced by the Innisfail school¹ would be appropriate for study since an eight-mile section at the eastern end had very poor soil and was poorly farmed. Consequently, this section was dropped from the sample area, leaving a 15-mile (east and west) by 12-mile (north and south) area, as shown in Figure 1.

Selection of the Sample

The interview area was divided into a two-mile grid by taking every east-west road and every other north-south road.

It was desired to sample occupied farmsteads. Starting with the northwest corner, every third farmhouse on the grid was considered to be an interview house. A house was considered to be on a road if the main driveway of the farm joined with the road.

Three kinds of exceptions were made to the above procedure: (1) Where there were several households on one farmstead which were obviously co-operating in running the farm, that was counted as only one house, and only one couple was interviewed. (In the case of father-son co-operative farms, preference was given to interviewing the son and his wife.) (2) Houses within the town limits of Innisfail and Penhold were excluded from the sample. (3) Houses which were on the farm, but which were simply rented by people who had no connection with the operation of the farm, were excluded from the sample.

Because it was felt that some of the very new homes might have been planned with access to No. 2 highway which transverses the interview area, sampling was also conducted along the highway. A farmhouse was

considered to be on the highway if it had an access road, and if provision had been made for crossing the central dividing median.

(e) In each such house, it was desired to talk to both the husband and wife. Generally, they were interviewed simultaneously by the interview team. As much as possible, the respondents were separated during the interviews to minimize their influence upon each other's answers. Two kinds of exceptions were made to the above procedure: (i) On those farmsteads where there was no woman living, the farmer alone was interviewed rather than being dropped from the sample. (ii) On those farmsteads where the farm was run by a mother-son team, the mother was interviewed.

(f) It was desired to account for all of the houses selected for interviews, rather than simply accept alternatives. Interviewers called back at each interview house until they either obtained an interview appointment and an interview, or until they were given a definite refusal.

A total of 110 interviews were completed in the Innisfail sample. About 85 per cent of these involved man-wife teams, about 11 per cent were bachelors, and about five per cent involved other relationships, generally mother-son partnerships.

Rapport:

Several precautionary steps were taken to maximize good rapport and minimize the number of refusals.

(a) Before any interviewing was started, a statement was given to local newspapers announcing the project and its sponsors, and giving a brief description of its concerns and objectives.

(b) Interviewers were given a letter of introduction to use in their initial meeting with respondents. This letter is reproduced in Appendix A.

(c) Wherever it was possible, respondents were interviewed when they were first contacted. However, they were given every opportunity to make appointments to be interviewed at a more convenient time. Since the interviewing in the Innisfail area was conducted over several weeks, it was possible to arrange convenient times for all respondents who were willing to be interviewed. This did necessitate repeated calls on many respondents.

For interviews conducted with the Innisfail sample, interviewer-interviewee rapport was generally quite satisfactory. Immediately after each interview, the interviewer wrote up an evaluation of the interview and described his impression of the quality of his rapport with the re-

INNISFAIL - OUTLINING INTERVIEW AREA



▲ Indicates Farm Interviews

spondent. In about two thirds of the cases, rapport was reported as either "good" or "very good". About a third of the interviews were described as "average", but even here rapport was felt to be at least adequate to ensure reasonable confidence in the reliability and validity of the information obtained. Less than three per cent of the interviews were conducted of "quite poor" rapport.

Interview Settings:

Most interviews were conducted indoors, in the evenings. Typically the man of the household was interviewed by the male interviewer in the kitchen, and the woman by the female interviewer in the livingroom. The number of out-of-doors interviews was reduced by the interviewers' willingness to come back at a "convenient" time. Generally, this was either early in the evening (6:00 to 6:30), or later after the chores had been done (8:00 to 8:30).

Refusals:

Interviewers were refused admittance at six of the 66 houses in the interview sample. One of these cases involved an elderly bachelor who lived alone in a "shack". He appeared to be too mentally unbalanced and out of touch with reality to understand the interview questions, much less give sensible replies. In the other five cases, the husband took the initiative in refusing to have anything to do with the survey. A total of 11 interviews were thus "lost" for the husbands effectively prevented interviewers from approaching their wives. It is our impression that all the wives, if left to themselves and approached without the awareness or involvement of their husbands, would have consented to be interviewed.

Two of the refusals were reasonably polite and friendly. They were evasive, kept postponing appointments or breaking them, and finally admitted that they were sorry but they didn't want to bother.

One man had had a "nervous breakdown" recently. He was willing to listen until the interviewer suggested that he and his wife would be interviewed separately, at which point he became rather paranoid and refused to co-operate any further.

Two refusals were adamant to the point of anger. One respondent intercepted the interviewers before they got to the door and launched a tirade about: "The ---- ---- government knows too much about us anyway!"

Another threatened to throw the interviewers out bodily when they approached the "very personal and private" subjects of the nature and extent of debts. His anger was sudden, vicious and, apparently, unprovoked and the interviewers did not stay to argue the point.

It is our impression that all of the farms on which interviews were refused were somewhat less economically successful than is average for the Innisfail district. Apart from this generalization, based on the appearance of the farm, there is little basis for describing the characteristics of the individuals who refused to be interviewed. If they were not willing to be questioned, they were not willing to talk at all or to volunteer anything about themselves, and the only information available about them is what could be gleaned from the appearance of the farm.

Unavailables:

For six of the interview houses, respondents were not available within the limits of the time available for field research, and as a result these houses had to be dropped from the sample.

Footnote:

¹It was initially suggested that an appropriate sample area around the Town of Innisfail would be simply the boundaries of the area serviced by the Innisfail high school. However, it was found that no such formal boundaries had been established, and that the only way they could be determined would be by a survey of individual families within a radius of about 15 miles of the town. Within such a radius, of course, one would expect to find a large proportion of students attending school at Penhold, Red Deer or other centers. Even if such an area could have been established, it would have been much too large for the purposes of intensive interviewing.

CHAPTER III

THE RESIDENT & FARM

The Resident

In the Innisfail area, a total of 110 residents were interviewed. On the basis of the data obtained by the questionnaire schedules, it is possible to describe the general social characteristics of the sample. This description is structured in terms of several basic dimensions.

Sex, Age and Marital Status:

In terms of sex, the sample consisted of 51 per cent (56) males and 49 per cent (54) females.¹ By age, about 30 per cent were less than 40 years old, and about 70 per cent were more than 40 years old. As might be expected, there was a larger proportion of women than men in the over-40 age group. In terms of marital status, only six per cent were single (never married). Nearly 84 per cent were married once and living with their spouse, and seven per cent were either separated, widowed or divorced.

Ethnic Origin:

In terms of place of birth, 74 per cent of the sample were born in Canada, ten per cent in the United States, and ten per cent in the white Commonwealth (British Isles, Australia, etc.). Thus, the proportion of residents born in a distinctively different or "foreign society" is very small.

In terms of place of birth of father, the largest proportion (39 per cent) came from the United States, more than a quarter 'were native-born' (28 per cent) and nearly a fifth (18 per cent) came from the white Commonwealth.

In terms of place of birth of mother, more than a third (37 per cent) came from the British Isles and the white Commonwealth, 30 per cent were native-born, and about a fifth (21 per cent) came from the United States.

Data on the place of birth of grandfathers reflects a similar distribution. The largest proportions were from the United States (50 per cent on the paternal side, 32 per cent on the maternal side). About a fifth (17 per cent and 21 per cent) of the grandfathers were born in Canada, and substantial proportions (15 per cent and 24 per cent) were from the British Isles and white Commonwealth.

In summary, most of the Innisfail sample trace their ethnic origin to the British Isles (often via the United States or the white Commonwealth).

Most are second generation Canadians, with about 27 per cent foreign-born and about 20 per cent third generation.

Geographical Data:

Generally speaking, the people in the Innisfail district sample are not very mobile, in the geographical sense. Not only have most of them (74 per cent) always lived in Alberta, but nearly a fifth (19 per cent) have always lived on the same farm, and another 30 per cent have always lived in the same one sixth of the province.

Most of the sample (85 per cent) have either always lived on a farm, or have spent most of their lives on a farm. However, all but 11 per cent have moved at some time since they were 12 (including "moves" involving service in the armed forces). More than a fifth (23 per cent) have moved at least once, about a quarter (27 per cent) have moved twice, and 15 per cent moved three times. Four moves have been experienced by five per cent. Only three per cent of the sample have moved more than eight times since they were 12 years old.

Educational Data:

In terms of years of schooling, more than a third (35 per cent) of the sample had less than nine years of schooling, nearly half (46 per cent) had nine, ten or 11 years, and about 15 per cent had 12 years of schooling, but had not necessarily finished Grade 12. Less than three per cent had any university education, and less than one per cent had a university degree.

In terms of other training, most respondents (63 per cent) had no training other than public school. About 13 per cent had some agricultural training, six per cent had some business school training, and about 18 per cent had some other training in such things as the technical trades, apprenticeship crafts, mechanics and nursing.

The education level of parents was lower than that of respondents, as was expected. About two per cent of the parents had no formal education at all, and about 11 per cent could only be classed as literate. About 55 per cent of the fathers and 43 per cent of the mothers had less than nine years of schooling. A fifth of the fathers (20 per cent) and a quarter of the mothers (25 per cent) had nine, ten or 11 years of schooling. Three times as many mothers (8.7 per cent) as fathers (2.9 per cent) had 12 years of

schooling, and more mothers (9.6 per cent) than fathers (76 per cent) had some college training. Note that, contrary to the usual findings, the mothers of the sample apparently had a generally better education than the fathers.

Occupational Data:

The occupational level of respondents in the Innisfail sample was assessed, and the respondents were grouped according to the Index of Social Position developed by A. B. Hollingshead. The Hollingshead Index is based primarily upon two criteria: the kind of occupation in which an individual is engaged² and the value of the property which an individual owns. In the case of the Innisfail sample, the occupation of almost all respondents was farming. The basis for differentiation among respondents was therefore in terms of the value of their farms. Hollingshead's Class Five includes farms worth less than \$10,000; Class Four farms worth from \$10,000 to \$20,000; Class Three farms worth from \$20,000 to \$50,000; Class Two farms worth from \$50,000 to \$125,000; and Class One farms worth more than \$125,000. A more specific description of the class categories is given in Table I. About a quarter (25 per cent) of farmers in the Innisfail sample are in Class One, and about half (50 per cent) are in Class Two. About 13 per cent of Innisfail farmers were in Class Three, and another nine per cent were in Class Four. Only four per cent of respondents in the Innisfail sample were in Class Six, which consists of small tenant farmers with little equipment and semi-skilled employees.

The Farm

Type of Farm:

The majority of the farms in the Innisfail district (81 per cent) are mixed farms. There are some straight grain farms (11 per cent), and dairy farms and livestock farms account for about four per cent each.

Size of Farm:

The size of a farm includes all of the land that is actually farmed, whether that land is owned by the farmer or merely rented by him. About a fifth of the farms in the Innisfail district are relatively small by prairie standards: seven per cent have less than 100 acres and 13 per cent have from 100 to 249 acres. The modal farm size in the district is from 250 to 499

acres. More than a third (36 per cent) of the farms fall into this category. About a fifth of the farms (22 per cent) are somewhat larger, farming from 500 to 749 acres. About 15 per cent of farms have from 750 to 999 acres, but only two per cent have over 1,000 acres, and none have more than 1,450 acres.

Most farmers (67 per cent) farm no rented land, and about a fifth (20 per cent) rent only from 100 to 259 acres. About 11 per cent rent up to 500 acres, but only two per cent rent from 500 to 750 acres, and no farmer reported renting more than 750 acres.

CHAPTER III TABLE 1

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF RESPONDENTS IN THE INNISFAIL SAMPLE, AS MEASURED BY THE HOLLINGSHEAD INDEX OF SOCIAL POSITION*

Group No.	Description of Occupational Group	Proportion of Sample
1	Higher executives of large concerns (value over \$500,000); Proprietors (value over \$125,000); Major professionals.	25%
2	Business managers of large concerns (value over \$500,000); Proprietors (value \$50,000 to \$125,000); Lesser professionals.	50%
3	Administrative personnel; small business owners (value \$10,000 to \$50,000); Semi-professionals; Farm and ranch owners (value \$20,000 to \$50,000).	13%
4	Clerical and sales workers; Technicians; Owners of little businesses (value \$5,000 to \$10,000); Farm owners (value \$10,000 to \$20,000).	9%
5	Skilled manual employees; Small farmers (owners value under \$10,000 and tenants who own farm equipment).	--
6	Machine operators and semi-skilled employees; Farmers (smaller tenants who own little equipment).	4%
7	Unskilled employees; Farmers (share-croppers).	--

* Married female respondents were classified according to the occupational status of their husbands. In the Innisfail sample, occupational data was available for all respondents and no married female respondents were classified simply as "housewives".

¹To facilitate easy reading, all percentages in this section have been rounded to the nearest whole percentage.

²Respondents were classified according to the occupation in which they have been involved for the longest period of time.

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Value of Holdings

The cash value of farms in the Innisfail district was taken as the total price which the farmer would accept for all of his farm property, his land, buildings, machinery, livestock -- everything. No farms were valued at less than \$1,500, and only two per cent were valued at less than \$10,000. About eight per cent were in the \$10,000 to \$25,000 range, about 15 per cent in the \$25,000 to \$50,000 range, and about a quarter (24 per cent) in the \$50,000 to \$75,000 range. About 17 per cent of farms were valued from \$75,000 to \$100,000. The modal category of cash value of farms in the Innisfail district was from \$100,000 to \$200,000. Almost a third of farms in the district (32 per cent) can be included in this category. About four per cent of farms were in the \$200,000 to \$350,000 range, and none were valued at more than \$350,000.

Farmers were not asked to estimate the value of livestock on their farms. Instead, the total number of various kinds of livestock was ascertained and their worth estimated from average values. About 11 per cent of farmers own no livestock at all, and another nine per cent own less than \$2,000 worth. About 15 per cent of all farmers own from \$2,000 to \$5,000 worth of livestock, and another 13 per cent are in the \$5,000 to \$10,000 range. More than a quarter (30 per cent) own from \$10,000 to \$20,000 worth of livestock, and a fifth (20 per cent) own from \$20,000 to \$50,000. Only two per cent have more than \$50,000 worth of livestock.

Farmers were asked to estimate the value of machinery on their farms. Six per cent had no machinery. About a fifth (20 per cent) valued their machinery at less than \$5,000. About 17 per cent had machinery in the \$5,000 to \$10,000 range, and about a quarter (24 per cent) had machinery in the \$10,000 to \$20,000 range. The modal category of farm machinery values ranged from \$20,000 to \$50,000, and included about a third (32 per cent) of the farmers. Only two per cent had machinery of more than \$50,000 total worth.

Debts

About a third (37 per cent) of farmers in the Innisfail district have no debts at all. About 13 per cent have less than \$2,000 worth of debts,

and most (51 per cent) have from \$2,000 to \$50,000 worth of debts (including their farm mortgages). Almost all farmers (91 per cent) pay an interest rate of six per cent or less on their debts. About five per cent pay interest rates from six per cent to seven per cent, and three per cent (one individual) pay more than 15 per cent. About 17 per cent expect to have their debts paid off within a year, and another 23 per cent expect to have them paid within the next three years. The remaining 60 per cent expect to have their debts all paid off sometime within the next 30 years.

Of those respondents with debts, more than half (55 per cent) reported that they did not worry about their debts, and another quarter (25 per cent) said they worried only a little. About 11 per cent said they were "somewhat" concerned, and another three per cent said they would worry if the debts got too large. Only five per cent said they were worried, and only one per cent said that they worried a "great deal".

For farmers in the Innisfail district, making debt payments is not generally a serious problem. Over a third (36 per cent) have never had trouble, and 40 per cent have not had trouble in the last five years. About nine per cent report trouble meeting debt payments between three and five years ago, and six per cent have had trouble twice or more within the last two years. Only about nine per cent report trouble in meeting their debt payments every year.

Of those people who had difficulty making payments, most (38 per cent) handled their difficulty by simply postponing their payments and contributing as much as they could. More than a quarter (28 per cent) did without other things in order to make payments, and about a fifth (19 per cent) coped by liquidating part of their capital. About five per cent borrowed more money, five per cent got help from friends, relatives or welfare, and another five per cent worked at a second job to get extra money.

Almost a quarter (24 per cent) of respondents definitely would not want to borrow money if it were available, and another 38 per cent would not want to borrow except under special conditions. Less than a fifth (18 per cent) are definitely sure they would want to borrow, and another fifth (20 per cent) would want to borrow only under certain circumstances and conditions.

Most farmers (85 per cent) were successful the last time they tried to borrow money on their farm. Of those who were unsuccessful, six per cent

did not specify the amount; four per cent had tried for \$200 to \$500; two per cent had tried for \$500 to \$1,000; two per cent for \$8,000 to \$12,000; and two per cent over \$12,000.

Productivity and Expansion

About a third (35 per cent) of farmers who have been farming for at least ten years are farming the same amount of land as they were ten years ago. . About 30 per cent of these farmers are farming less land, half of them only about half as much as they were originally. At the other extreme, 15 per cent of farmers are working half as much land again as they originally farmed, and another 13 per cent are working up to twice as much. Nearly eight per cent of farmers are farming more than twice as much land now as they were ten years ago.

In the Innisfail district, all land taxes have increased in the past three years. One eighth of farmers have had their taxes increased by less than ten per cent; more than a third have had them increased by ten per cent to 25 per cent; and nearly a third have had them increased by 25 per cent to 35 per cent. One farmer in ten has had his land taxes increased by 35 per cent to 50 per cent. About four per cent of farmers have been taxed from 50 per cent to 100 per cent more heavily, and about six per cent have had their taxes increased by 100 per cent to 200 per cent. About two per cent of farmers have had over a 200 per cent increase in their land taxes in the past three years.

When Innisfail farmers were asked how well they were doing or getting ahead now, half (49 per cent) replied "quite well", and a fifth (19 per cent) replied "very well". About a fifth "were not sure" (19 per cent). Only seven per cent said "not very well", and only two per cent said "poorly". When asked if they had had "any particular problems, or handicaps, or troubles that have held you back from getting ahead as well as you otherwise might have," nearly a third (28 per cent) of farmers in the Innisfail district said they had had no such troubles.

The Problem of Farm Help

Only a quarter (26 per cent) of farmers in the Innisfail sample managed to run their farms without any help. Three kinds of help are available: family members or partners, part-time or seasonal, and full-time and permanent. In 22 per cent of the cases, the farmer was helped by at least one family member or partner; in another seven per cent he was helped

by two or more family members or partners. In 13 per cent of farms, only part-time seasonal help was employed, and in seven per cent of farms only full-time permanent help was employed. Many farmers have various combinations of kinds of farm help. Thus, 19 per cent employ part-time help in addition to assistance by family members or partners; four per cent employ part-time help in addition to permanent help; and nearly two per cent of farmers use all three kinds.

Most farmers (79 per cent) report that they do not need additional farm help. About eight per cent report they need help and can pay for it, but it is not available, and another eight per cent report needing help but being unable to afford it. About six per cent need only seasonal help.

Non-Farm Work and Off-Farm Work

Most farmers in the Innisfail sample (77 per cent) were not employed off the farm during the last three years. About ten per cent worked off the farm at some time during the last three years, and about 12 per cent did so during all of the last three years.

Half of the farmers who worked off their farms were employed by a private company, and a fifth were self-employed. Government agencies employed eight per cent; winter works programs another eight per cent; and the county, hospitals, and relatives about four per cent each.

For all farmers, the distance to their employment was less than 40 miles. About five per cent worked anywhere within the community; about a quarter (24 per cent) worked within five miles of their homes; more than a third (38 per cent) worked within five to ten miles of their homes; and about a third (33 per cent) worked within ten to 40 miles of their homes.

The type of employment obtained by off-farm workers was classed according to the Hollingshead Index of Social Position, given in CHAPTER III, Table 1. The most common type of employment obtained is classed in Group No.4 (clerical and sales workers; technicians; small business owners) and involved 30 per cent of off-farm workers. More than a quarter of the off-farm workers were involved in Group No.7 kinds of employment (mostly unskilled labor), and about a fifth (22 per cent) were involved in Group No.6 (machine operators and semi-skilled workers). Group No.5 (skilled manual employees) and Group No.2 (business managers of large concerns; lesser professionals) each accounted for about nine per cent of the employment, and about four per cent were employed

at the Group No.1 level (higher executives of large concerns; major professionals).

In terms of amount of time spent working off the farm, about 17 per cent worked less than a month, another 17 per cent worked from one to two months, and about nine per cent worked three, four and five months respectively. About four per cent worked from seven to eight months, and more than a third (35 per cent) of farmers who worked off their farms worked more than eight months.

In terms of money earned, more than a third (39 per cent) of those who work earn less than \$500 a year from off-farm jobs. About nine per cent earn from \$500 to \$1,000, and another nine per cent from \$1,000 to \$2,000. About 18 per cent earn from \$2,000 to \$3,000 to \$4,000. Four per cent are in the \$4,000 to \$5,000 range, and another four per cent earn \$7,000 or more from off-farm work.

Almost all respondents (93 per cent) reported no desire for off-farm work. The six per cent who said they did want off-farm work were not seeking to find it. Only one per cent of respondents were actively desiring and seeking off-farm work.

In terms of opportunity for work, 80 per cent of the men and 66 per cent of the women reported that jobs were available in their community. The distance to available jobs was less than ten miles for 77 per cent of respondents, and less than 40 miles for 92 per cent of respondents. Only eight per cent of respondents described available job opportunities as "a long ways away".

Income

In the Innisfail district, the main source of income for most respondents (88 per cent) is from the sale of farm goods. Wages (salary, commissions, custom work) provide the main source of income for seven per cent of respondents. About two per cent are supported mainly by rents, two per cent by pensions, and two per cent by interest from investments. No one is mainly supported by welfare.

Almost six per cent of respondents reported either no income for the previous year or that they went into debt. Another two per cent had an income of less than \$1,000. The modal amount of net family income per annum was from \$1,000 to \$2,000. Over a quarter (27 per cent) of respondents fell into this category. About 14 per cent of respondents made from \$2,000 to \$3,000, and 17 per cent made from \$3,000 to \$4,000. About six per cent were in the

\$4,000 to \$5,000 range, and 18 per cent made from \$5,000 to \$8,000. Another six per cent made from \$8,000 to \$12,000, and less than five per cent made more than \$12,000 per annum.

CHAPTER V

PLANS AND ASPIRATIONS

Present Plans for Farm Improvements

When respondents were asked about their plans for farm improvements and about what improvements they would like to be able to make, the most commonly mentioned areas for improvement were buildings (both house and out-buildings) and livestock, as shown in Table I.

CHAPTER V TABLE I

ACTUAL AND DESIRED PLANS FOR FARM IMPROVEMENTS, BY
INNISFAIL SAMPLE MEMBERS

Type of Improvement	% Who Are Planning the Improvement	% Who Would Like to Make Improvement
Land clearing and improving	9	5
Land additions	7	9
Buildings improvements (not house)	41	33
House improvements	17	44
Machinery	4	3
Livestock	18	11
Other	7	7

About half of the real or the tentative plans for improving buildings would involve less than \$4,000, and half would involve from \$4,000 to more than \$8,000.

The data on house improvements reveals some discrepancies. Many people would like to be able to make house improvements, although they have no plans to do so. In addition, the cost of actual house improvements is, in about two thirds of the cases, less than \$4,000, while the cost of wanted house improvements is, in two thirds of the cases, from \$4,000 to more than \$8,000.

The cost of plans for livestock (whether specific or desired in the future) is less than \$4,000 in about half the cases, and from \$4,000 to more than \$8,000 in the other half.

Over half (53 per cent) of farmers with specific plans for farm improvements intended to finance the improvements from their cash profits. Almost a third (31 per cent) intended to get a loan, and 14 per cent intended to save until they had sufficient cash to go ahead.

Of all farmers who had plans for improvements they would like to be able to make on their farms someday, only five per cent had applied for financial assistance, and only half of these had been successful. Those who had not applied for financial assistance offered a variety of reasons. Many (43 per cent) could not use the money immediately, either because other things were more important or because the improvement was not possible at the time or because they were unsure and had not got around to it yet. A third (33 per cent) wanted to use their own money from profits and to handle it themselves to avoid being in debt. About eight per cent did not really want to make the improvements (i.e., too old, place doesn't really need it), and another eight per cent felt that they were already too much in debt. A few (three per cent) felt that they did not know enough about the process of borrowing money, and a few (three per cent) did not give a reason for not trying to borrow money to realize their improvement plans.

Most respondents (79 per cent) were either very confident or fairly confident that their plans for improvement would pay off and enable them to earn a better living. About 11 per cent were not very confident or not sure at all that their plans would pay. (Most of this group were probably referring to plans for house or landscaping improvements.) About eight per cent were doubtful as to the economic soundness of their plans for improvements.

Less than half (45 per cent) the respondents had discussed their plans with someone. Of these, more than half (26 per cent) had talked to family and friends only. Some (five per cent) had talked to the District Agriculturist only, and small proportions (two to five per cent) had talked to the District Agriculturist and/or to a finance company and/or to someone knowledgeable, in addition to talking about their plans for improvement with their family and friends.

Present Plans for Moving

In terms of plans to move, 78 per cent of the Innisfail sample do not want to move and do not plan to do so, and another two per cent do not want to move but are planning to do so of necessity. About eight per cent of the sample want to move and are planning to do so, and another two per cent would like to move but are not planning to because they feel they can't. About eight per cent report that, although they would like to move

and are able to, they have no plans for moving. Another two per cent report that although they like the Innisfail district and do not have to move, they plan to leave. In summary, about 18 per cent of the respondents would like to move from the Innisfail district and about 81 per cent would prefer to stay.

Most of the 11 per cent of respondents who plan to leave know where they want to move. In a third of the cases (33 per cent) the planned move is to either Edmonton or Calgary. More than a quarter (26 per cent) intend to move only within the Innisfail district, and about 13 per cent intend to move to another section of Alberta. About seven per cent mention British Columbia, and another seven per cent are thinking vaguely of somewhere "better" in terms of farming or job opportunities. It is interesting to note that the respondents' conception of the range of possible moves was so limited that no one considered moving to another prairie province, much less to Eastern Canada or outside of Canada to another country.

"Plans" for Moving with Financial Assistance

Respondents were presented with a hypothetical opportunity:

If you were given some financial help (for example, a loan which you would repay in part) to get you set up so that you could earn a better living, would you want to use that help to move away somewhere else, or would you want to put more of an investment into this farm?

More than a third (35 per cent) of respondents in the Innisfail sample said they would stay where they were, they would make no change, and they would not take the money. More than half (58 per cent) said they would stay where they were and use the money for such things as paying bills, buying land, etc. Only eight per cent said they would move to another farm. Responses to this question, like responses to questions regarding plans to move, reflected a high degree of satisfaction and contentment by respondents with the Innisfail community and with their way of life.

The eight per cent of respondents who, with financial assistance, would move to another farm were asked further questions about possible future plans. Four individuals were involved. In terms of amount of help needed, one wanted from \$4,000 to \$5,000; one wanted more than \$25,000 and two did not feel they needed any help. In terms of where they wanted to go, one wanted to move to British Columbia, two wanted to move within the immediate vicinity, and one did not know where he wanted to go.

Hypothetical "Plans"

Respondents were presented with the question: "If you could do anything you wanted, what kind of work would you like to do?" Almost all of the men (88 per cent) said they would most like to remain farmers. About nine per cent said they would like to be a white-collar worker, and three per cent said they would prefer skilled manual work.

Nearly a third (29 per cent) of the women said they would most like to be housewives. Nearly two thirds (61 per cent) said they would like to do white collar work, and about a tenth (ten per cent) said they would prefer skilled manual work.

The fact that most respondents appeared to be content with the status quo in terms of occupation does not imply that respondents had no mobility aspirations. Many farmers were concerned with having bigger, better and more successful farms, and many housewives were (probably) interested in their husbands' success which in turn offered them higher status. In addition, some respondents were interested in changing occupations and, as was expected, in all cases the change was to an occupation of equal or superior status, as measured by the Hollingshead Index of Social Position.

After respondents had indicated the occupation they would choose if they could do anything they wanted, they were asked simply: "Why?" The various reasons which were offered are given in Table 2. Considerations of the nature of the work per se appear to be far more important than secondary gains.

Respondents were characterized in terms of their interest in their occupations. Two thirds (65 per cent) were not interested in any change, and another quarter (25 per cent) did not want to change their occupation but were interested in improving their performance in it with more education or training. About six per cent wanted a change but did not want to take further education to obtain it, and about four per cent wanted to retire.

Of those respondents interested in further training regarding a possible change in occupation, about half would not need financial help, about a quarter definitely would need it, and about a quarter were not sure. About nine per cent of the sample reported that they did not need financial help regarding education for occupation change now, but that they would have welcomed it previously.

CHAPTER V TABLE 2

REASONS FOR CHOOSING "MOST WANTED OCCUPATION"
GIVEN BY INNISFAIL SAMPLE MEMBERS

Predominant Reason	% of Respondents
In terms of the work per se:	78
"I like or enjoy that type of work"	26
"I'm suited for it"	1
"It's in my blood (brought up in it, always wanted to do it, it's best for me)"	21
"It's close to nature (outdoors, soil, animals)"	12
"Variety, interesting, always different"	5
"Want to learn new things"	4
"Like to build or create or discover, like to see things grow"	1
"Find it a challenge"	2
"Worthwhile and rewarding, satisfying to me"	6
In terms of secondary gains:	<u>13</u>
"Sociable job, like travelling and meeting people"	6
"Better working conditions"	1
"Independence, you're your own boss"	6
"More money"	--
"No responsibility, straight eight-hour day job"	--
"Health"	--
In terms of altruistic motives:	<u>7</u>
"Want to help others, look after others"	6
"For benefit of family"	1
In terms of negative motives:	<u>2</u>
"Stuck with it, can't do anything else, too old"	2

CHAPTER VI

HOME AND FAMILY

Housing

Standards of housing were measured by the Edwards' Housing Scale, which was somewhat modified by the addition of three new items. The scale consisted of a list of 30 items that would be found in a fully equipped, modern home, and houses were scored according to the number of these items found in them, to a maximum score of 30. Houses were then classified into three groups: low or substandard (score from 0 to 11); medium (score from 12 to 22); and high (score from 23 to 30). Among houses in the Innisfail sample, there were no substandard dwellings and only 25 per cent were medium dwellings. Over half (53 per cent) the houses in the sample scored from 23 to 26, and nearly a quarter (23 per cent) scored from 27 to 30 points. Housing on farms in the Innisfail district is comparable with the middle class urban housing found in the West Strathcona area of Edmonton.¹

In terms of the number of people per room of living space, housing in the Innisfail sample is very adequate. In three quarters (78 per cent) of the houses, there is less than one person per room, and in another 15 per cent there is exactly one person per room. Only six per cent of houses have up to 1.5 persons per room, only two per cent have up to two persons per room, and no houses contain more than two persons per room.

Family Size

The data relevant to family size is presented in Table 1. The distribution of numbers of children born is bimodal, with 25 per cent of families bearing four children and 23 per cent of families bearing two children. The distribution of numbers of children living reflects the same pattern, with small changes in proportions in the expected direction. The numbers of children born to mothers of sample members was, as was expected, much greater than for the present generation. For example, 25 per cent of the older generation of women bore eight or more children, compared with only four per cent of the present generation. This indicates that the average family size is becoming smaller. The amount of this reduction is probably less than is implied by the statistics for two reasons:

- (1) not all women of the previous generation are represented, but only mothers of children who lived to adulthood; and
- (2) about a third of the mothers of the previous generation bore at least one child who died before the age of 10.

CHAPTER VI TABLE 1

PROPORTIONS OF INNISFAIL RESPONDENTS HAVING OR WANTING
VARIOUS NUMBERS OF CHILDREN

Number of Children	Number of Living Children	Total Number of Children Born	Total Number of Mother's Children*	Ideal Number of Children
None	7%	8%		0%
One	9	8	2%	0
Two	31	22	12	13
Three	12	8	11	15
Four	19	24	19	49
Five	9	12	10	6
Six	7	10	13	8
Seven	2	4	9	0
Eight+	4	4	24	9**
	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Refers to number of children born, including those who died before the age of 12 years.

** Includes general responses as: "as many as can afford, not less than four, as many as are able to have."

In terms of ideal number of children, almost half (49 per cent) the respondents thought four was the ideal family size, 15 per cent thought three was ideal, and 13 per cent preferred two. About 14 per cent thought five or six was the ideal number of children, and nearly a tenth (nine per cent) thought eight or more children or "as many as one could have or support" was the ideal number. The strength of the positive attitudes towards parenthood prevalent throughout the Innisfail community is shown by the fact that no respondent considered no children or an only child to be an ideal situation.

Attitudes Toward Birth Control

Respondents in the Innisfail sample generally favored birth control. Nearly 47 per cent were definitely in favor of it, and another 44 per cent gave favorable responses, but qualified their opinion somewhat (for example: "It's up to the individual," or "It's OK when it's needed."). Only four per cent were definitely not in favor, and another two per cent were not in favor, but qualified their opinion somewhat. About four per cent said they did not know what their opinion was.

More than half the respondents (59 per cent) could specify where birth control information was available in the community. Another nine per cent thought it was available but did not know just where, and seven per cent did not think it was available. Nearly a quarter (24 per cent) said they didn't know if birth control information was available or not.

Relative Prosperity

The perception of oneself as being "rich" or "poor" depends in part upon one's position regarding wealth and status in the society as a whole. However, this perception also depends upon one's position relative to one's own reference group. A person of only moderate means in a poor area may feel "rich" and vice versa. Given what we know about Thomas' dictum: "A situation defined as real is real in its consequences," it is important for any consideration of poverty versus affluence to know how people perceive, define and evaluate their own economic state.

One important reference group for people consists of their siblings and siblings-in-law. Respondents were asked to rate the "state of prosperity" of members of this reference group compared with their own prosperity. Only 13 per cent of the respondents reported no differences in prosperity among themselves and any of their brothers or brothers-in-law. Another 11 per cent reported an equal number of relatives above them in prosperity as below them. Presumably, for these two classes of respondents, perception of "richness" or "poorness" depended upon criteria set by the greater society. However, 16 per cent reported that all of their brothers or brothers-in-law were above them on the scale, and another 14 per cent reported that more relatives were above them than below them. It is suggested that these individuals might feel relatively deprived, regardless of the fact that by the standards of Alberta as a whole they were quite well off. Over a third of respondents (35 per cent) reported that they had more relatives below them than above them, and 11 per cent reported that all of their brothers or brothers-in-law were below them in terms of economic prosperity. It is suggested that these people might feel relatively well off, regardless of whether they are very successful in terms of objective criteria.

In summary, almost one half of respondents in the Innisfail area feel that they are more prosperous than their siblings, and another one fourth feel that they are prospering at least about as well as their siblings.

ISSUES OF FAMILY LIFE ABOUT WHICH INNISFAIL RESPONDENTS
ARE ESPECIALLY WORRIED

Issue or Problem	% of Respondents
Health problems	11
Getting old, death of spouse	2
Conduct, character and future of children	10
Education of children	4
Family upheaval, general discord, everything wrong and upset	1
Financial troubles, crop failures	3
Inadequate housing	1
Moving (from farm to town)	1
Husband's safety (while working on job)	3
Relatives, in-laws	1

Family Harmony

Respondents were asked what things in their family life they were especially worried about. Two thirds of respondents (65 per cent) said they were not worried about anything. The problems mentioned by the remaining one third of respondents are given in Table 2. The most common concerns involved the welfare of children and the health of family members.

The presence of conflict within families in the Innisfail sample was considered in terms of two points of view: parent-parent conflict and parent-child conflict.

When respondents were asked about disagreements with their spouses, about 17 per cent said they had no disagreements. For the rest of the sample, the issues involved were as follows:

Work (i.e. wife working, occupation, husband working too hard) ..	15%
Children (i.e. discipline, how to bring them up)	14%
Money	8%
Everything, lots of things	8%
Sex, jealousy, late hours	6%
Alcohol, frequency of drinking	3%
Other	28%

Interviewers rated their impressions of the degree of conflict between parents in the houses in which they conducted interviews. In terms of subjective impressions of an outsider, in nearly a third of the homes (32 per cent) there was almost no conflict; in about half the homes (51 per cent) there was a "little bit"; in about 15 per cent there was a "fair amount" of conflict; and in three per cent there was a "great deal" of conflict between the parents.

When respondents were asked about disagreements with their children, nearly a third (32 per cent) said they had no disagreements. (This figure is misleadingly high in that it includes cases where the children were too young to effectively engage in disagreements with their parents.)

For the rest of the sample, the issues involved were as follows:

Discipline, disobedience problems.....	30%
Dating, morals	14%
Personal development, money, tidiness	8%
Education	4%
Chores	2%
Marriage	1%
Other	9%

Interviewers rated their impressions of the degree of conflict between parents and children in the homes in which they conducted interviews. In terms of the subjective impression of an outsider, in about a third (33 per cent) of the homes, there was almost no conflict. In more than a third (37 per cent) there was a "little bit" of conflict; in about a quarter (24 per cent) there was a "fair amount" of conflict; and in six per cent of the homes there was a "great deal" of conflict between parents and children.

Aspirations for Children

Respondents were asked if they felt it was important for their children to grow up on a farm. About a third (33 per cent) felt it was very important, and another third (39 per cent) felt it was quite important. About 17 per cent felt it was "a little" important, and 12 per cent said it was not important at all.

When asked why it was important, 44 per cent claimed that the farm was a "good way of life", offering as examples such advantages as freedom, space, pets, high moral standards, and the fact that the farm keeps children busy and hence out of trouble. Nearly a fifth (19 per cent) felt that farm life built character (i.e., a sense of responsibility), and almost as many (18 per cent) felt that it was easier to raise children on the farm (i.e. require less supervision, parents have better control). About three per cent thought that farm life was more educational, and another two per cent thought it was more healthy.

Eight of the ten individuals who did not think it important that their children grow up on a farm felt that it didn't make any difference. One felt that education on the farm was "no good", and one was concerned that the work on a farm was too hard.

Respondents were asked if they would advise their children to: "stay here in this area and make their homes here." A quarter of respondents refused to answer the question on the grounds that it was not up to them to advise their children to do anything; the decision was entirely up to them and they could do as they like with no interference or comment. Over half (52 per cent) said they would advise them to stay because it was a good area for farming, and another 17 per cent said they would also advise them to stay because of the conveniences, or to remain close to relatives, or for no specified reason. Only four people wanted their children to move away. Two felt children should not live near relatives, two felt there were better opportunities elsewhere (especially regarding education), and one did not want children to farm.

When respondents were asked what kind of work they wanted for their sons, nearly half (46 per cent) said farming; a fifth (20 per cent) were permissive, saying "anything he wants"; and 15 per cent made general comments about "doing well" and making money without naming a specific occupation. About nine per cent wanted their sons to become professionals, and six per cent wanted them to be teachers. When the same question was asked concerning daughters, a fifth again were permissive, saying they wanted "anything she wants". Over a quarter (27 per cent) named semi-professional occupations (i.e. nursing), and a fifth (21 per cent) made general references to "doing well", "being educated" without specifying a job. About 11 per cent wanted their daughters to be teachers. Although only one per cent aspired for professional careers for their daughters (as compared to nine per cent for sons), only ten per cent wanted their daughters to have no other career or job other than being married and a housewife.

¹B. Y. Card, et al, The Metis in Alberta Society, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1963, page 233.

CHAPTER VII

PHYSICAL HEALTH AND MENTAL HEALTH

Illness and Accidents

Respondents were asked to describe any illnesses, operations or accidents in the family during the past year in terms of who was sick, with what, for how long, how and where treatment took place, and the outcome of the treatment. Most respondents (59 per cent) reported some health problems for themselves or their families during the past year. A summary of responses in terms of the first ailment mentioned by respondents is given in Table 1, with the modal response to each question underlined. The modal number of ailments per family was one (46 per cent of sample). In most families having ailments, adult members were not involved (53 per cent of sample). On the overall average, families had less than one nervous ailment or one accident during the past year. In families with ailments, the modal length of duration was nine weeks or more (26 per cent of sample).

Respondents were asked about their own state of health. Most (72 per cent) reported that their health in the last three years had been either "excellent" or "good", 22 per cent reported that it had been "fair", and only six per cent reported that it had been poor. Nearly two thirds (62 per cent) reported they had no health problems, and another 16 per cent said their health problems did not interfere with their daily activity.

Infant Mortality

In terms of infant mortality, ten children of couples in the sample had died before the age of 12: four involved miscarriages, three were premature, and three died before six months.

Satisfaction with Services

Most people had no complaints about either the hospitals (89 per cent) or the doctors (84 per cent) in the Innisfail district. When complaints were made, they did not follow any particular pattern, but rather consisted of individual grievances or reports of unpleasant individual experiences.

Medical Insurance and Medical Expenses

Subjects were asked whether they had medical insurance coverage. Half the respondents (51 per cent) had MSI only, and another seven per cent had MSI plus some other insurance and/or Blue Cross. A fifth of respondents (20 per cent) had medical coverage from some other scheme, and nearly a quarter

(23 per cent) had no medical coverage at all.

Of the 27 people with no medical insurance coverage, ten said they could not afford it, seven felt they were in too good health to need it, and five said that they (or their spouses) were against it. Four said they just had not bothered or had not renewed their policy, and one had applied and was not yet covered.

For nearly half of the sample (46 per cent) medical bills (excluding the cost of medical insurance premiums) came to less than \$50 during 1965. A quarter had medical bills ranging from \$50 to \$100, and 18 per cent from \$100 to \$200. Only ten per cent paid from \$200 to \$400, and only two per cent had medical bills in excess of \$400. Almost all respondents (91 per cent) had the cash to pay their medical bills, three per cent had to have some credit, and six per cent found them "no problem".

Mental Health

One index of mental health is the extent to which individuals experience physical symptoms which probably are psychological in origin. One widely used measure of this phenomenon is a Symptoms Check List. Respondents were asked about 14 psychophysiological symptoms, and were scored from one to three points for each response, depending on whether they experienced the symptom "never", "sometimes" or "often". These scores were then summed, making a possible range from 14 to 42. On the basis of norms based on large samples, scores from 14 to 17 were considered "low", scores from 18 to 21 were considered "medium", and scores from 22 to 42 were considered "high". The proportions of respondents in the Innisfail sample who "often" had various psychophysiological symptoms are given in Table 2. Of the Innisfail sample, more than a third (40 per cent) were considered "low" in psychophysiological symptoms, about a third (32 per cent) were considered "medium", and more than a quarter (28 per cent) were considered "high". The number of respondents reporting a "high" number of psychophysiological symptoms is slightly lower in Innisfail than in the other communities studied but the differences, although in the expected direction, are not large.

Respondents were also given a Neuroticism Index which, as shown in Table 3, also took the form of a symptom check list. The proportions of respondents answering in various ways are shown. The scoring procedure was identical to that used for the psychophysiological list and the cutting points for "low" (six to nine), "medium" (ten to 12) and "high" (13 to 18) were also

based upon standardized norms. In the Innisfail sample, 28 per cent were considered highly neorotic, 27 per cent were considered to have a medium amount of neuroticism, and 44 per cent were considered to be low in neuroticism. In comparison with other communities, the Innisfail sample appears to be somewhat better adjusted than all communities except Dixonville.

CHAPTER VII TABLE 1

SUMMARY OF DATA FOR INNISFAIL SAMPLE MEMBERS REGARDING FAMILY HEALTH
(Based on First Ailment Named) (N=38)

Content of Question	Categories of Response	% of Sample
Who was the <u>sick person</u> ?	Male (15 yrs. and less)	13
	Male (16 to 24 yrs.)	3
	Male (25 to 44 yrs.)	16
	Male (45 yrs. and older)	16
	Female (15 yrs. and less)	16
	Female (16 to 24 yrs.)	3
	Female (25 to 44 yrs.)	8
	Female (45 yrs. and older)	25
What was the type of ailment?	<u>Infective and parasitic diseases</u>	23
	Diseases of the nervous system and sense organs	16
	Mental, psychoneurotic and personality diseases	5
	Diseases of the circulatory system	11
	Diseases of the respiratory system	8
	Diseases of the digestive system	8
	Diseases of the genitourinary system	11
	Accidents, poisonings and violence	18
What was the <u>duration</u> of ailment?	One week or less	13
	One week to two weeks	16
	Two weeks to three weeks	16
	<u>Three weeks to a month</u>	17
	Two to three months	13
	Four to six months	11
	Seven to nine months	3
	Chronic, all the time	11
What was the <u>method of treatment</u> ?	Self	3
	Family member	17
	Non-medical doctor	3
	<u>Local medical doctor</u>	60
	Non-local medical doctor	3
	Local medical specialist	3
	Non-local medical specialist	8
	Other	3
What was the <u>place of treatment</u> ?	Local doctor's office or clinic	15
	Local hospital	18
	Edmonton or Calgary hospital	15
	<u>Home</u>	41
	Other	33
What was the <u>outcome of treatment</u> ?	<u>Successful</u>	58
	Doubtful	21
	Unsuccessful	21

CHAPTER VII TABLE 2

PROPORTION OF INNISFAIL RESPONDENTS REPORTING
PSYCHOPHYSIOLOGICAL SYMPTOMS

	<u>Often</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Never</u>
1. Has any ill health affected the amount of work you do?	11%	34%	55%
2. Have you ever had spells of dizziness?	4%	27%	69%
3. How often are you bothered by having an upset stomach?	7%	46%	47%
4. Are you troubled by your hands sweating so that you feel damp and clammy?	5%	17%	78%
5. Do you have loss of appetite?	1%	22%	77%
6. Do your hands ever tremble enough to bother you?	2%	8%	90%
7. Do you tend to lose weight when you have something important bothering you?	4%	16%	80%
8. Have you ever been bothered by nervousness, feeling fidgety or tense?	24%	50%	26%
9. Have you ever been bothered by shortness of breath when you were not exercising or working hard?	7%	14%	79%
10. For the most part, do you feel healthy enough to carry out the things you would like to do?	8%	10%	82%
11. Are you sometimes bothered by your heart beating hard? (Pounding)	9%	24%	67%
12. Do you feel you are bothered by all sorts of pains and ailments in different parts of your body?	5%	20%	75%
13. Do you ever have trouble getting to sleep or staying asleep?	12%	37%	51%
14. Are you bothered by nightmares?	1%	18%	81%

CHAPTER VII TABLE 3

PROPORTION OF INNISFAIL RESPONDENTS REPORTING
NEUROTIC SYMPTOMS

	Yes	No	Uncertain
1. Do you sometimes feel happy, sometimes depressed, without any apparent reason?	43%	52%	5%
2. Does your mind often wander while you are trying to concentrate?	29%	66%	5%
3. Are you frequently "lost in thought" even when supposed to be taking part in a conversation?	21%	58%	21%
4. Are you sometimes bubbling over with energy and sometimes very sluggish?	53%	42%	5%
5. Are you inclined to be moody?	24%	67%	9%
6. Do you have frequent ups and downs in mood, either with or without apparent reason?	20%	71%	9%

CHAPTER VIII

LEISURE

Activities and Preferences

Respondents were asked what they did in their leisure time. For the winter, popular activities (mentioned by at least 15 per cent of respondents) were as follows: reading, handicrafts, and active and nature activities. For the summer, popular activities (mentioned by at least 15 per cent of respondents) were as follows: visiting, entertaining and being with people, things around the house¹, and active and nature activities.

In the winter, the modal amount of time devoted to leisure activities was from 31 to 40 hours a week (for 25 per cent of sample). About 17 per cent had up to 50 hours a week, and 11 per cent had more than 50. Less than two per cent had none. In the summer, the modal amount of time devoted to leisure activities was from 11 to 20 hours a week (for 41 per cent of sample). About two per cent reported no leisure time, and four per cent reported less than three hours a week. A fifth (20 per cent) had from four to ten hours, and 15 per cent had from 21 to 30 hours. About nine per cent had up to 40 hours a week, and six per cent had up to 50. Only five per cent had more than 50 hours of leisure time a week during the summer months.

Respondents were asked what they most liked to do when they were not working. The most common responses were:

Working around the house or garden (cooking, sewing above family needs)	21%
Enjoying nature (hiking, camping, car rides, picnics, hunting)	20%
Visiting (going out, entertaining at home, being with people)	14%
Reading	12%
Sleeping or resting	6%

Less than five per cent of respondents mentioned the following favorite activities: art work, raising or training animals, collecting objects, musical activities, spectator events, cards and games, and drinking or going to the bar.

Respondents were also asked what they liked to do when they got together with friends. A third simply answered: "visit or just talk." When activities were named, the most popular kind involved group sports and playing cards and games, followed by "going out" and working (doing things

for each other). Watching television and entertaining in the home were also fairly popular.

Leisure Activities Involving Sources of Information

The use of leisure time often involves activities which, in addition to being entertaining and/or relaxing and/or time-consuming, serve the function of informing the individual about events in the world around him. The most important of such educational leisure-time activities involve reading and watching television.

In terms of newspapers, a third of respondents in the Innisfail sample (33 per cent) read one metropolitan newspaper, a quarter (23 per cent) read one local newspaper, and a fifth (20 per cent) read one weekly in addition to the local newspaper. About 12 per cent read a weekly in addition to a metropolitan newspaper, and the rest of the sample read various combinations of papers.

In terms of magazines, nearly half (49 per cent) read one or two, more than a third (36 per cent) read up to four, and 15 per cent read up to seven. About nine per cent read no magazines.

In terms of hours spent reading, in the winter the modal number (58 per cent) is from two to nine hours a week, and less than two per cent never read at all. In the summer, the modal number (65 per cent) is from one-half to five hours a week, and four per cent never read at all.

Almost all of the sample (98 per cent) own or have access to a television set and almost everybody (94 per cent) watch it at least occasionally. About 12 per cent watch less than four hours a week, but nearly a third (29 per cent) watch from four to ten hours a week, and more than a third (35 per cent) watch from 11 to 20 hours a week. About 13 per cent watch up to 30 hours, five per cent watch up to 40 hours, and one respondent reported watching from 40 to 50 hours a week.

In terms of favorite programs, over a quarter (29 per cent) mentioned educational programs, and nearly a quarter (24 per cent) mentioned dramas. About 14 per cent preferred variety programs, and the preferences of the rest of the sample were distributed more or less equally over other program types. Respondents were given a list of items and asked to

indicate their sources for "finding out about things" and the proportion endorsing various sources is shown below. Many of these sources are also central leisure-time activities.

Radio	63%
Television	37%
Magazines	28%
Movies	--
Talking with people	68%
Books	6%
Personal experience	32%
Church	7%
School	6%
Newspapers	58%

¹This category includes: "housekeeping, cooking, carpentry, gardening, puttering, sewing, mechanics, and helping children with their homework."

CHAPTER IX

ATTITUDES AND VALUES

Anomie

Anomie, or hopeless despair, was measured by Srole's Anomie Scale, which consists of five questions, as shown in Table 1. Each respondent was given a score of one for each "agree" response, making a maximum score of five indicating a high degree of anomie. The distribution of total scores for the Innisfail sample is biased in that for 30 per cent of the respondents (32 individuals) questionnaire items were answered so inadequately that no total score could be computed. For the 76 individuals who were scored, the distribution of scores was as follows:

Score of one	27 cases	35%
Score of two	17 cases	23%
Score of three	17 cases	23%
Score of four	11 cases	14%
Score of five	4 cases	5%

CHAPTER IX TABLE 1

RESPONSES, BY THE INNISFAIL SAMPLE, TO SROLE ANOMIE SCALE ITEMS

Item	% of Sample Who Agreed
In spite of what some people say, the life of the average man is getting worse, not better.	27
It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.	21
There's little use in writing to government officials because often they aren't interested in the problems of the average man.	46
These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.	12
Nowadays, a person has to live pretty much for to-day and let to-morrow take care of itself.	29

Attitudes toward Work: The Protestant Ethic

Attitudes of commitment to work were measured by a Protestant Ethic Scale, which consists of six questions, as shown in Table 2. On the first three items, respondents were scored from one to three for a negative response, and from four to six for a positive response, depending upon the intensity of their feeling. For the last three items, the scoring was reversed. Thus, the total possible score was 36, and the higher the score, the higher the acceptance of the Protestant Ethic (commitment to work values).

The distribution of scores for the Innisfail sample was as follows:

Score of 6 to 9	3 cases	3%
Score of 10 to 13	18 cases	17%
Score of 14 to 17	41 cases	38%
Score of 18 to 21	30 cases	28%
Score of 22 to 25	11 cases	10%
Score of 26 to 29	4 cases	4%
Score of 30 to 33	1 case	1%

This is roughly a "normal" distribution, and shows a spread of respondents over almost the entire range of the scoring continuum.

CHAPTER IX TABLE 2

RESPONSES TO PROTESTANT ETHIC SCALE ITEMS, BY INNISFAIL SAMPLE MEMBERS

Item	% of Sample Who Gave Protestant Ethic Answers
If you had a great deal of money, would you work as much as you do now?	53
Would you say that the worst thing about being sick is that your work does not get done?	51
Would you say that you work like a slave at everything you do until you are satisfied with the results?	26
Would you say that it is all right for a man to take off from work if there is something else he would rather do?	15
Would you say that most people spend too much time working and not enough time enjoying life?	48
If you had a choice of taking a paid vacation or working during that time and getting paid extra, would you take the vacation?	4

Values

The value orientations of respondents were measured by four indices: responses to 22 value items, value scores (based on the value items), factor scores (based on factor analysis of the value items), and two forced choice questions. In the section concerning values in the main report, detailed information is given regarding the theoretical significance of the indices, the rationale for their selection and development, and the analysis of inter-community data. Detailed explanations will therefore not be given here beyond the cursory comments necessary to clarify the pattern of the data.

Value Items.

The proportion of the Innisfail sample who gave a middle-class response to value items is shown in Table 3. The value items (except Nos. 7, 12 and 19) all were found to vary significantly from one community to another (as measured by chi square at the .05 level of confidence). However, significant associations with other variables (income, education, occupation, sex) were found for only a few items and did not appear to follow any particular patterns.

CHAPTER IX TABLE 3

INNISFAIL SAMPLE MEMBERS MAKING MIDDLE-CLASS RESPONSES
TO MIDDLE-CLASS ORIENTATION INVENTORY VALUE ITEMS

Value Item	Middle-Class Response	% Giving Middle-Class Response
1. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for to-day, and let tomorrow take care of itself.	disagree	71
2. What counts in life is being able to feel that you are a success.	agree	77
3. Getting into trouble with the police now and then is not something to be ashamed of unless you've really done something bad.	disagree	50
4. You can't do much about the world so you might as well learn to put up with things the way they are.	disagree	54
5. The money I save gives me as good a feeling as things I buy.	agree	59
6. In order to get along in the world, you have to look after your family and friends, and let them look after you.	disagree	27
7. A person ought to be satisfied if he manages to get by without too much effort.	disagree	76
8. If a girl should get "in trouble" and "have to get married" she has disgraced herself.	agree	40
9. If a fellow can get a good job when he finishes school, he is foolish to go to university.	disagree	81
10. The more you try to plan ahead, the more you will be disappointed.	disagree	75
11. Getting ahead in the world is one of the most important things in life.	agree	43
12. It is better to blow up now and then at someone and tell them off than to bottle your feelings up.	disagree	18

Value Item	Middle-Class Response	% Giving Middle-Class Response
13. For many young people, education past Grade 9 is not worth the time and trouble.	disagree	84
14. To get ahead in the world, a man should be willing to give up old friends and make new ones.	disagree	48
15. If a couple want to live together without being married, that's up to them.	disagree	48
16. A person is responsible only for himself and his wife and children and not for his other relatives.	agree	45
17. Too many people are so busy planning for tomorrow that they can't really live today.	disagree	22
18. Schooling only makes sense if it helps one to get a good job.	disagree	78
19. If people really go after what they want they can usually get it.	agree	93
20. Money is made to spend, not to save or invest.	disagree	61
21. Education may be important but lots of people get too carried away with it.	disagree	37
22. Too many people are so concerned with getting ahead that they can't really enjoy life.	disagree	24

Value Scores.

Items representing particular dimensions of value orientations were grouped and a summed score was obtained for each respondent. The results were essentially similar as for the value items. Significant associations were found by community, indicating that Innisfail respondents gave more middle-class responses than other respondents for all value dimensions except for education. Apparently a high positive value on education is common to all the communities studied.

Factor Scores.

The factor scores yielded results similar to those for the value scores. Significant associations of responses and community were found for all factors except education.

Implications.

Respondents in the Innisfail area generally answered the value items in a way one would expect from middle-class people. While this was also generally true for the other, more lower-class communities, significant differences in response patterns were found from one community to the next. These significant differences were not found for the factors generally considered indicative of social class (education, income, occupation). The conclusion seems to be that, although respondents in the Innisfail district are more likely than respondents in other districts to respond to value items in a way which would be expected from middle-class people, this response pattern is primarily related to some other factor than social class position. One explanation might be that the Innisfail respondents have experienced inter-generation upward mobility and, although presently prosperous, still retain some of the lower-class ways of thinking probably typical of their parents.

Forced Choice Questions.

Innisfail respondents were asked: "If you had your choice, would you most like to be successful or independent or well liked?" Over half (55 per cent) replied "well liked", 29 per cent replied "independent", and 12 per cent replied "successful". It is interesting that, although Innisfail is the most successful community studied, it had the lowest proportion of respondents saying that what they most wanted to be was successful.

Respondents were also asked: "Think of the things which are most important to you. Which three things on this card are the most important to

you in the long run?" The proportions of the sample giving first choice to various values are shown in Table 4. When compared with other communities, respondents in the Innisfail district appeared to be more concerned with doing things for other people and less concerned with keeping healthy and fit.

CHAPTER IX TABLE 4

PROPORTION OF INNISFAIL RESPONDENTS CHOOSING DIFFERENT
VALUES AS "MOST IMPORTANT"

Value	% of First Choice
Keeping healthy and fit	21
Being independent	19
Doing things for other people	15
Being a just and honest person	15
Being liked and respected by others	7
Making money and buying things	5
Religious activities	3
Being highly skilled in what I do	4
Politics and community affairs	--

CHAPTER X

THE COMMUNITY

Perceptions of the Community

Essentially all (99 per cent) of the interview sample in the Innisfail district felt that it was "a pretty good area in which to live" and they did not wish that they were living elsewhere. (One respondent would have preferred to live outside of Alberta.)

When respondents were asked what they thought of the people in the community, almost all (96 per cent) expressed positive, approving attitudes. Two thirds of respondents indicated an extremely positive attitude and a high degree of satisfaction ("the best, very nice, like them fine"), another 19 per cent described them as "friendly, nice and helpful", and ten per cent said they were at least average ("fair, all right, OK"). Only two respondents qualified their approval ("some good, some bad") and two were isolationist and dissatisfied.

Attachments to the Community

Respondents were asked:

"Are there people in this area whom you feel close to or whom you depend upon, like relatives or close friends, who would make it difficult for you to move away because you didn't want to leave them behind?"

Most respondents (53 per cent) said they had no such ties. About 12 per cent said they had relatives, 18 per cent said they had friends, and 18 per cent said they had both relatives and friends who would make it difficult for them to move away.

Respondents were then asked:

"Are there any other reasons why you would feel badly about leaving this area and moving to another area?"

About half the respondents (52 per cent) felt no sentimental ties to the area. Of those who had other reasons, more than half said their family would not want to move, and about a fifth said they liked the facilities of the area (i.e. good farming, hunting, etc.). Four respondents mentioned financial considerations, three liked the climate, and two felt involved and contented (i.e. "it's home"; "I'm established"; "it's the only place I ever knew"). Three respondents said they would not want to leave for essentially negative reasons, such as: "no place else to go"; "too old to start again"; "another place would be worse". In general, although almost all of the sample

are contented, sentimental reasons do not play a very important role, and when they do there is little consensus as to what aspect of life in the community is of sentimental value.

Friends and Neighbors

Respondents were asked how many close friends they had in the district. The modal responses were four or five (21 per cent) and two or three (20 per cent). About six per cent reported only one close friend, and another six per cent reported none. About 19 per cent reported six or seven close friends, and 28 per cent reported from eight to 17 or more.

About half the sample (45 per cent) saw their friends about once a week. About seven per cent saw them all the time (at least once a day), and another seven per cent saw them more than once a week. About a fifth (20 per cent) saw them two or three times a month, and ten per cent saw them only about once a month. One respondent reported that he saw his friends only once a year or so.

One indication of feeling and interaction patterns in the community is the sources of help and mutual aid upon which people depend. Respondents were asked: "Who would you feel free to turn to in time of trouble, when you need help?" Nearly half of the respondents (48 per cent) thought of their family and relatives, and a third (33 per cent) thought of their neighbours. About 11 per cent felt they could depend upon people with whom they had formalized relationships (i.e. boss, landlord), and seven per cent looked to society to help them (i.e. welfare agencies). Less than two per cent said they had nobody to turn to.

Community Activities

Farm Organizations.

The most prominent farm organization is the Farmers' Union. Over a third (39 per cent) of farmers have never belonged to it, 18 per cent have belonged at some time but have dropped their membership, and 43 per cent are currently members. When respondents were asked why they did not belong, 25 per cent gave reasons regarding communication (i.e. "don't know or understand enough about it" or "no one canvassed me"), and 11 per cent said that no union was available nearby. Another 14 per cent did not have negative attitudes particularly, but just "didn't bother and let it drop". Another

two per cent had just moved to the district, and two per cent had no way of getting to meetings. However, over a third (35 per cent) of the reasons involved negative attitudes toward the FUA itself. The criticisms included: a feeling of futility (i.e. there is no point to it; policy is too weak; nothing much is done), a dislike of the meetings or of the leaders, and a dislike of unions per se and a strong sense of individualism.

In terms of leadership in farm organizations, eight per cent of respondents had been officers in the Farmers' Union (or the FWUA) and nearly a quarter (24 per cent) had been officers in some other farmer organization.

Respondents were asked if they would favor some other kinds of organizations than the FUA for farmers. A total of 29 respondents said they would: nine wanted something stronger and improved, seven did not specify what they had in mind, and seven favored organizations specifically for buying and selling. Three respondents wanted educational programs and two favored farm labor unions. One specified a livestock breeders' association.

Church.

In terms of membership and/or attendance, about half (46 per cent) of the Innisfail sample are associated with the United Church. The next largest religious group consists of the conservative Protestant groups such as the Baptist and the Mennonite. Less than ten per cent are Catholic, and six per cent belong to various sects. Nearly four per cent are Mormon. Nearly a fifth (17 per cent) of the respondents neither belong to a church nor attend one.

In terms of self-ratings on religious involvement, 13 per cent say they are very religious, 42 per cent say they are moderately religious, 28 per cent say they are not very religious, and 17 per cent say they are not at all religious.

In terms of regularity of church attendance, a quarter (25 per cent) go once a week or more, 18 per cent go two or three times a month, ten per cent go about once a month, a third (35 per cent) go at least two or three times a year, and 13 per cent never go.

In general terms, it appears that although religious matters play some part in the lives of most respondents, they are a central concern for only about a fifth. For about 13 per cent, they are apparently of no significance at all.

Politics:

In terms of voting behavior, 84 per cent of respondents said they had voted in the last provincial election and the last two federal elections. About five per cent said they had voted in the federal elections only, and five per cent had voted in one federal and one provincial election. Only two per cent said they had not voted in any of the three.

In terms of interest in politics, about half (53 per cent) said they followed federal politics very closely or fairly closely, and about a third (37 per cent) said they followed it not too closely. About nine per cent said they did not follow it at all. When asked about their interest in provincial politics, 43 per cent said they followed it very closely or fairly closely, 44 per cent said they followed it not closely, and 13 per cent said they did not follow provincial politics at all. When the levels of interest at the federal and provincial levels were compared, 43 per cent followed both very or fairly closely, ten per cent followed only federal politics very or fairly closely, and nearly half (47 per cent) followed both not too closely or not at all.

In terms of knowledge of politics, most people (65 per cent) could name both their MP and MLA, and another 29 per cent could name their MP. Only four per cent did not know either official.

Most people (84 per cent) felt that they would "certainly" or "probably" feel free to talk to their MP about the problems of the district. Only 42 per cent felt that it would "certainly" or "probably" do any good, however.

Other Organizations.

About a quarter (24 per cent) of respondents belong to no organizations, over a quarter (28 per cent) belong to one, 18 per cent to two, and another 18 per cent to three. About seven per cent belong to four organizations, and four per cent belong to five. Two respondents in the sample belonged to seven organizations.

In terms of participation (calculated on the basis of the first organization mentioned), 31 per cent go to every meeting and another 44 per cent go to almost every meeting. About 11 per cent go to half the meetings and 16 per cent almost never go. About half the respondents (44 per cent) had been officers in some group at some time and, of these, about a third had had one minor position, a third two or more minor positions, and a third at least one major position and one minor one.

Community Leaders

Respondents were asked to name the five most influential people in the community, their occupations and the way in which they were influential. In terms of occupations almost all named leaders would be classified in Hollingshead's Group No.4 (farm owners value \$10,000 to \$20,000, small business owners, clerical and sales workers, technicians). The most frequently mentioned way in which they served the community was in terms of community and church work; that is, with recreational projects, Young People's, Home and School, etc. The next most influential group was concerned with helping farmers; for example, on the farm advisory board or with the FUA, leaders in the co-ops, or 4-H workers. A third major group helped through "official" organizations, such as political bodies, the Board of Trade, or the School Board. Some leaders were named because of their counsel and advice and encouragement; people had respect for their opinions and they were helpful.

Respondents were asked what characteristics they felt a community leader should have. The traits named, in order of frequency of mention, were as follows:

- Trustworthy (honest, genuine, dependable, sincere, have the interest of the community, integrity)
- Competent (educated, good speaker, knows what he's talking about, decisive)
- Good with people, good personality (tactful, understanding, able to get along well with others, able to communicate)
- Aggressive (initiative, good worker, speaks his mind, not afraid to try new things)
- Dedicated and interested (conscientious)
- Broad-minded (flexible, respect for opinions of others)

Poverty in the Community

Three quarters of the Innisfail sample did not feel that there were any really poor people in the district. Of the 24 per cent who perceived some poverty, nine per cent could think of only one family, ten per cent could think of only two or three families, and no one considered more than five families in the district to be poor. No one in the sample perceived themselves as really poor.

A series of very detailed questions were asked regarding the respondent's perceptions of poverty in the Innisfail area. However, so little poverty was perceived, and the number of responses to any given question was so small that the resulting data could not be analysed meaningfully.

According to various common indicators of poverty (income, housing, debt, health, etc.), the Innisfail district is not poverty-stricken. This will be considered in some detail in the summary.

GENERAL ASSESSMENT OF THE COMMUNITY SITUATION

Satisfactions: Reasons People Want to Stay

As has been pointed out earlier, most people in the Innisfail district appear to be content and satisfied with their way of life and have little desire to move or to change. Respondents were given several opportunities to state why they wanted to stay. The dominant positive reasons offered, in rank order by frequency of mention, are as follows:

Contentment and involvement (it's home, I'm established here, too involved to move, only place I ever knew).

Like farming (farm is part of us, hate life in big city).

Like the facilities of the area (hunting, etc.).

Like the people.

Like the geography (i.e. climate, soil).

No place else to go (set in ways, don't like to travel).

Just moved here, too soon to think of moving again.

In terms of why people moved to the district, the main reason (40 per cent) seems to have been to seek a "better life": to get out of the city, or to obtain more land or better facilities, etc. About a quarter of people moving to the district came because they had ties here in terms of family or friends, 15 per cent came because they married a farmer in the district, and 11 per cent came because they had always wanted to be farmers and this was a good place. Only four per cent came to the district mainly for financial reasons, and only four per cent came because their job transferred them. In most cases (76 per cent), the spouse was in favor of the move; the children, if they were old enough to have an opinion, were either in favor or noncommittal. Whatever the reasons bringing people to the district, they were apparently valid ones, for most people (85 per cent) were definitely sure they would make the move again, and another eight per cent thought they probably would. Only six per cent thought that if they had it to do over again, they would go somewhere else.

Dissatisfactions: Reasons People Want to Move

Only 20 respondents said they wanted to move and not all of these were actually planning to move away from the district. Of these, five said they would like better facilities ("like the city", "would like a better house", etc.) and five said that, financially, they would be in a better position to get ahead some other place. Four would like a better climate, and three would

like to move because their health was failing (due to age) and they wanted to live somewhere where life was "easier". One person wanted to move just for a change and to see different places, and two people failed to specify why they were discontented.

General Satisfaction Level

In response to the question: "How satisfied are you with life here on this particular farm?" over half the respondents (58 per cent) said, without qualification, that they were very satisfied and another third (35 per cent) said they were fairly satisfied. Only one respondent was very dissatisfied, four per cent were dissatisfied, with qualifications, and two per cent were not sure.

When respondents were asked about what satisfactions they got from their work, only one person said he got no satisfactions. About 47 per cent got satisfactions from the work per se¹, 44 per cent got satisfactions from secondary gains such as good health and independence. Nine per cent got satisfaction in terms of altruistic motives.

Perceived Problems

Respondents were asked what, in their opinion, constituted problems in their district about which the government, or somebody, should attempt to do something. Specifically, they were asked what further improvements and services they would like to see in the area. About a quarter had no suggestions at all. The suggestions that were made are summarized in Table 1. The table is based upon analysis of the first two issues mentioned by respondents. It is interesting that, although Innisfail has some industrial potential and could be of minor tourist interest, no one in the area suggested that the government (or anyone else) promote any developments along these lines.

In terms of government services, two thirds (63 per cent) of the sample did not think any additional services were necessary. About 13 per cent felt that the district could use more agricultural services, such as veterinarians, good crop insurance (not compulsory), and weed and insect control. Small proportions of respondents (less than five per cent) wanted more educational services (other than schools), better utilities, better loan and finance services, better and more extensive health services (i.e. birth control, chiropractors) and better care for the aged.

CHAPTER XI TABLE 1

AREAS FOR GOVERNMENT IMPROVEMENT,
AS PERCEIVED BY THE INNISFAIL SAMPLE

General Area	Examples	% of Sample Interested
Help for the farmer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - lower price of fertilizer, gas and machinery - higher prices for produce - cut down on middlemen - more PFA - check badly-made machinery - help to little farmer 	22
Transportation improvements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - more gravel on roads and improved bridges - better and more roads 	17
Economic changes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - taxes reduced - farmers exempt from pension plan - more credit - control finance company interest - government-owned insurance and power 	12
Political changes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - control Hutterites - control labor unions - more socialist form of government 	9
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - more convenient schools - more vocational schools - schools too permissive - schools too harsh (i.e. homework) 	7
Facilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - more skating rinks, picnic grounds, post offices, community centers, etc. 	5

¹Examples of these categories can be found in Chapter V, Table 2. It is interesting to note the differing proportion of motivations in each category when one is considering real, as opposed to ideal, occupations.

CHAPTER XII

SUMMARY: THE INNISFAIL DISTRICT CONSIDERED IN TERMS OF POVERTY AND HUMAN RESOURCES

Indications of Poverty in the Community

The Innisfail district is not, in any way, a poverty-stricken district, as assessed by conventional indicators of poverty. This statement has been supported by descriptive comments throughout the report. Some of the more relevant points are listed in Table 1, together with the Chapter numbers of more elaborate discussions. In terms of all of the standard indicators, Innisfail farmers tend to stand out as a prosperous group. The one possible exception is in terms of net income. An income of less than \$2,000 a year per family might be considered "poor" in urban settings. It goes farther in terms of standard of living on the farm because of the absence of rent and the use of produce as food.

CHAPTER XII TABLE 1

THE INNISFAIL DISTRICT CONSIDERED IN TERMS OF "POVERTY INDICATORS"

<u>Indicator</u>	<u>The Innisfail Situation</u>	<u>Existence of Poverty</u>
Size of Income	Modal category: \$1,000 to \$2000 per annum. Range: less than \$1,000 to over \$12,000 per annum	Somewhat
Receipt of welfare	No one (in sample) supported entirely by welfare	Negative
Debt	One third no debt at all. Most interest: less than 6%. Forty per cent out of debt in 3 years. Seventy-six per cent no trouble making payments last 3 years.	Negative
Housing	Three quarters of sample houses rated "high" on Edwards' Scale, and have less than one person per room.	Negative
Health	Three quarters in good or excellent health in past year, no health problems which interfere. Half of families no health problems in past year. Medical bills generally less than \$100 per year.	Negative
Education	One third less than Grade 9. One half some high school. One third some training other than school.	Negative
Social participation	Three quarters belong to some organization(s). Of these, three quarters go to most meetings. Half go to church. Most vote and are somewhat knowledgeable of politics. One third have been officials in organizations at some time.	Negative

Indicator	The Innisfail Situation	Existence of Poverty
Identification of self as poor	No respondents considered themselves to be poor.	Negative
Poverty in community	Three quarters did not perceive any poverty.	Negative
Comparative advancement	One half more prosperous than siblings. One quarter about equal.	Negative
Value of holdings	The modal category for cash value of farm in the Innisfail district is from \$100,000 to \$200,000	Negative

Recommendations

The Innisfail district is not subject to any very serious problems. Although improvements could of course be made, there is no need for a rehabilitation program. The people have fairly high aspirations and are generally functioning quite successfully. They are unwilling to move because they see no incentive to make moving worthwhile. They experience little poverty, and perceive few problems and needs for improvements. They ask for relatively little government help and, compared with other parts of the province and with other social problems, it seems probable that little help is needed. There is nothing in the situation of the Innisfail district calling for special programs of improvement, aid or development, other than those instigated for the benefit of the country as a whole.



HUMAN RESOURCES RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

